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III.—THE CARMEN SAECULARE OF HORACE.

When the Carmen Saeculare of Horace was rendered on the Palatine hill before Apollo's temple it was of course sung to a rhythmic dance, since the invitations issued for the occasion mention not only the singing but the "choros habendos."¹ How the strophes were divided between the youths, maidens, and the ensemble has not been discovered despite many attempts at divination.² However, many editors have agreed that the ninth stanza was divided between the youths and maidens and sung antiphonally. That at least seems to be implied in the text:

Condito mitis placidusque telo
Supplices audi *pueros Apollo*;
Siderum regina bicornis audi
Luna puellas.

The assumption of responsion in this stanza is based upon the supposition that the semichoruses would, so far as possible, have appropriate texts. That is quite reasonable, for this was a religious song, and the Romans were meticulous in their acts of worship: Apollo did not accept the same victims at the altar as Diana, nor was it customary for women to bring the same offerings as men. Unfortunately, this principle when applied to the song does not carry us far enough, though it at once suggests that the first two and the last stanza would be sung by the full chorus, that the third belongs to the youths, the fourth to the maidens, the seventeenth to the youths and the eighteenth to the maidens.

The ninth stanza, however, has another peculiarity. In the third line, the trochaic caesura unexpectedly appears, and this fact may provide an objective criterion capable of helping us

¹ CIL VI. 32323, l. 21.

² As Shorey has said: "The distribution of the strophes between the youths, the maidens, and the ensemble has been endlessly debated," Shorey-Laing, p. 471. See Christ, Sitz. Bayer. Acad. 1893 (six triads); Mommsen, *Reden und Aufsätze*, p. 358 (a processional); Vahlen, Sitz. Berl. Akad. 1892, p. 1005 (objections to Mommsen's view); Dennison, Univ. Mich. Studies, 1904, p. 49. For references to many others, see Schanz.

further. It is well known that Horace avoided the trochaic caesura almost entirely in the Sapphics of the first three books of odes. The *Carmen Saeculare* is the first Sapphic ode in which he uses it freely. Here it suddenly occurs nineteen times. We know of course very little about the theory of the caesura. It has even been held that rhetoricians did not become conscious of or study its effects until after the Augustan age. But a verse like Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 263:

Non quivis videt immodulata poemata iudex,

in which Horace illustrates ignorance of modulation by omitting the regular caesura, is proof enough that the poet has some rule in mind.

The avoidance of the trochaic caesura in the first three books, while it is freely used in the *Carmen Saeculare* and subsequent Sapphics, is not satisfactorily explained by Christ's additive theory³ of verse. It is not at all unlikely that the theory which we first find in Hermogenes, *de Ideis* II, 394 R., a theory that advocates variation in tone and color by manipulation of the pauses, was known and practiced before the days of Vergil and Horace. Certain it is that Vergil in his hexameters uses the trochaic deliberately for smooth, flowing, and soft effects when the text demands them. One need not search far in the *Aeneid* for lines like:

Luna premit suadentque cadentia sidera somnos.
Per connubia nostra per inceptos hymenaeos.
Spargens humida mella soporiferumque papaver.

Of course the Romans never spoke of caesuras as "masculine" and "feminine"—terms invented by Hermann; but if a poet were attempting to employ the caesuras in such a way as to give a different effect to the stanzas composed for the female voices he would of course give to them the softer trochaic caesura rather than the emphatic stop after the accent. This is what Horace seems to have done in the *Carmen Saeculare*.

Even with this criterion, we cannot expect definitive results, since there are ensemble parts which must have one or the

³ Christ, *Sitz. Bayer. Akad.*, 1868; Heinze, *Sitz. Leip. Akad.* 1919, seems to have put an end to the additive theory as far as concerns Horace.

other of these two caesuras. But the following rule makes for a reasonable division: stanzas sung by youths alone have the "masculine" caesura, stanzas sung by maidens alone have one or more trochaic caesuras in each stanza, ensemble stanzas also contain trochaic caesuras.

Beginning our inquiry at stanza nine, which affords the best clue, we find that the three central stanzas (9, 10, 11) shift from masculine to feminine caesura on the third line. The three are apparently sung antiphonally by the two semi-choruses—

Youths: Condito mitis || placidusque telo
 Supplices audi || *pueros, Apollo;*

Maidens: Siderum regina || bicornis audi,
 Luna, puellas.

Youths: Roma si vestrumst || opus Iliaequae
 Litus Etruscum || tenere turmae,

Maidens: Jussa pars mutare || Lares et urbem
 Sospite cursu,

Youths: Cui per ardentem || sine fraude Trojam
 Castus Aeneas || patriae superstes

Maidens: Liberum munivit || iter daturus
 Plura relictis.

This mesodos of three stanzas is probably the only part of the poem in which stanzas are divided in the middle. The three stanzas clearly belong together referring throughout to Apollo and Diana, for as Vahlen has shown (*op. cit.*, p. 1020) the sixth ode of the fourth book also attributes the salvation of the Aeneadae to Apollo and Diana. We thus learn that these two deities hold the position of honor in the central passage which is thus emphasized by the most elaborate and effective rendering. The twelfth and thirteenth stanzas are addressed to the unnamed Capitoline triad, as appears from the mention of the "bobus albis." The twelfth (which has no trochaic caesura) is assigned to the youths, the thirteenth (with its one trochee) to the maidens.

The next three stanzas make up a kind of triumphal hymn which seems to suit the full chorus; the trochaic pause occurs

freely in this group.⁴ Finally the masculine lines of the seventeenth (addressed to Apollo) are given to the youths, those of the eighteenth stanza (addressed to Diana) with one weak pause, are assigned to the maidens, while the nineteenth stanza, the epode, falls to the full chorus. The division of this part is therefore: mesode, 1, 1, 3, 1, 1, epode.

The first part of the ode opens with a proodos of two stanzas in full chorus. The first stanza has a trochaic caesura, the second has none, the only stanza thus deficient of those assignable to the full chorus. The third (addressed to Sol-Apollo) was sung by the youths, the next two (addressed to Ilithyia-Lucina, several trochees) is assigned to the maidens, while the next three—all masculine lines—go to the youths who pray for prosperity during the next saeculum. The stanzas of the first half fall into the following order: proode, 1, 2, 3, mesode.

According to this hypothesis the whole poem arranges itself by stanzas as follows:

1	choral	
2	proodos	Youths and maidens sing to Apollo and Diana.
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3	youths	Prayer to Sol-Apollo.
4-5	maidens	Prayer to Ilithyia-Diana.
6-7-8	youths	Prosper Rome through the next saeculum!
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9-10-11	antiphonal mesodos	Apollo and Diana are recognized as the founders of Rome.
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12	youths	May Jupiter and Juno prosper
13	maidens	citizens and ruler.
14-15-16	full chorus	Song of joy: the age of peace returns.
17	youths	Prayer to Apollo.
18	maidens	Prayer to Diana.
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19	full chorus	epodos: the gods have heard our prayers.

It will be seen that a division of the hymn according to caesuras secures a reasonable amount of symmetry, not only separating it into two equal parts by an antiphonal mesodos but also arranging the two parts into systems. The first half

⁴The hymn continues through two stanzas, while in the third the chorus wheels before the temple of Apollo again.

seems to use a progressive idea, while the second sets a frame for the song of triumph. This division also secures appropriate texts for the two choruses. The proode, epode, and song of triumph fall to the full chorus, the mesode to a more intricate responsion, the direct addresses to Apollo fall to the youths, while those to Diana are sung by the maidens. It must have been very difficult to secure such a coincidence of caesura, symmetry, and appropriateness of theme, so difficult in fact that conscious effort alone would seem to me responsible for it. There are only two instances where coincidence between the three principles is in any way lacking, namely in the second stanza, where no trochaic caesura is found in a choral song, and in the sixteenth, where the full chorus turns to address Apollo alone.

This division, if adopted, will have some bearing upon the interpretation of various lines. It will for example refer the tenth and eleventh stanzas to Apollo and Diana rather than to the "Di" of the following lines, as Kiessling-Heinze's edition would do. This change in turn alters the whole conception of the ode. Instead of giving the position of honor in the second half to Jupiter and Juno as Kiessling held, it interprets the whole central antiphonal as sung in praise of Apollo and Diana, thus reducing the Capitoline deities (who are not even named) to the two obscure stanzas that follow. This is in fact what Horace himself has quite clearly said when at the end he calls the chorus:

Doctus et Phoebi chorus et Dianae
Dicere laudes,

and again in Carmen IV, 6, when he attributes the salvation of the Trojans to these gods,⁵ and in ll. 37-38 of that ode speaks of his chorus:

Rite Latonae puerum canentes
Rite crescentem face Noctilucam.

This arrangement proves of course that the song was in every respect a hymn in honor of Apollo and Diana, and, despite Kiessling's notes, it shows that Apollo is intentionally

⁵ Vahlen, *op. cit.*, and Slaughter, *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* 1895, pp. 77 ff., have rightly insisted that the Carmen Saeculare gave markedly little attention to the Capitoline triad.

identified with Sol in line 9, and that Ilithyia is intended to be connected with Diana Lucina. In view of these facts I would propose the following changes in the punctuation of Kiessling-Heinze's edition: a full stop should be placed after the eighth line, a semicolon after the twentieth, a colon after the thirty-sixth and a full stop after the forty-fourth and the fifty-second lines.

Moreover, if the peculiar meter of the Carmen is found to be the result of an attempt to harmonize form and spirit in certain stanzas, we may have the long-sought clue to Horace's reasons for experimenting with a new rhythm at the close of his career. The odes of the fourth book which have this rhythm are all apparently later: the sixth was written while the chorus was practicing the performance of the Carmen, the second belongs to the year 16 B. C., and the eleventh is generally considered one of the last lyrics (see the final lines). Horace's adoption of the trochaic caesura has usually been attributed to a manipulation of the additive theory of verse which we find in Caesius Bassus. But the whole theory is now under severe criticism. The nature of the Carmen Saeculare should at least be considered as a possible factor in the treatment of Horace's meters.

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